China weekly Review

密勒氏評論報

Western Press

DISTORTIONS OF CHINA NEWS

PHILIPPINE PEASANT ARMY

RALPH RICHARDSON

HOW PEKING GREETS THE NEW MARRIAGE LAW

KAO KANG reports on ECONOMIC SITUATION in the NORTHEAST

JUNE 17, 1950

JMP 4.000

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LETTERS From the People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of the China Weekly Review.

OVERSEAS CHINESE

To the Editor:

There are more than 10,000,000 Chinese overseas in all parts of the world. The Chinese who have gone abroad have shown their energy and patience. No matter where they have gone, they have helped to develop barren and waste lands into prosperous towns and cities.

Some countries have taken advantage of their straight-forward and hard-working nature and have caused them considerable suffering. But in spite of the oppression which they have suffered without adequate protection by their home government, their love for their own country has not diminished.

During the liberation of our beloved China, overseas Chinese have contributed liberally to the cause and they have remitted large sums home for the development of various constructive projects in the hope of building up a strong economic foundation for the nation.

Their situation has become more critical during the past few years as the economic depression in countries abroad has forced them to return to China. Now our new government should take immediate steps to give relief to those patriotic sons who have been forced to return to their native soil.

The fundamental solution, of course, lies in national and economic recovery. Although this will take time, we believe that a movement should be immediately started to encourage Chinese overseas to return home. The government should aid them to escape from foreign oppression so that they can return to benefit the country. Local governments will have to afford adequate protection and provide special privileges for overseas Chinese who desire land for agricultural or industrial enterprises.

C. T. LOH

Shanghai
May 31, 1950

WORKERS' HEALTH

To the Editor:

On International Women's Day, March 8, the Public Health Bureau, the Women's League (Fu Lien Hui), and the staff of the Tientsin Municipal Hospitals System resolved jointly to conduct routine physical examinations of women factory workers. Since then volunteer medical teams have been devoting their Sundays off to factory trips for this project.

On the first trip women workers of the China Textile First and Sixth Mills were examined, the latter group by 73 of Tientsin Central Hospital's staff including the medical department chief, 17 doctors, nurses, attendants, and nursing students. The students first presented a play for the workers in which dangers of the old methods of confinement were contrasted with the safety and benefits of the new, clean methods. A doctor outlined the plan for examining the workers, explaining that the team was there to discover any health obstacles that might be in their way to full life and production, and to recommend treatment which their factory would give them.

In the Sixth Mill 700 workers and 80 of their children were examined the first Sunday. At the end of the day the team met with the factory staff, when data were presented and follow-up treatment discussed. Two hundred of the 780 examined at the Sixth Mill were found to be in good health, 180 had internal diseases—mostly respiratory and gastro-intestinal disturbances—110 had gynecological abnormalities, principally underdevelopment.

Widespread gastro-intestinal disorders were traced to the workers' faulty eating habits. In their anxiety to boost production and earn the red banner, the girls had been snatching hasty lunches brought with them and eating at the looms, taking no time out at noon for rest. A dining room and compulsory time off for lunch were immediately instituted. The sanitary and safety conditions of the factories were described as satisfactory.

The First Mill has a nursery where workers' children are cared for while the parents work. Workers with infants are allowed a half-hour in each four hours for nursing. Many of the girls reported forced overwork and insufficient nourishment during the Japanese occupation and this was thought to account for their physical underdevelopment. Of 500 women workers examined one Sunday from China Textile Third and Fifth Mills, roughly half were found infected with trachoma though only one required surgery.

One of the volunteer doctors on these teams reports the trips are to be continued each Sunday until all of Tientsin's women factory workers have been examined.

BETTY C. CHANG

Tientsin
May 25, 1950

POSTAL NEWS

To the Editor:

Many changes have taken place in the postal service since the People's Government was inaugurated in China. At present there are 31 postal districts throughout the entire country. The majority of them were reorganized after the Kuomintang fled and others, such as Pingyuan, North Shensi, Mukden, Changchun, Harbin, Inner Mongolia, etc. were established in accordance with the actual needs after liberation when unrestricted communication throughout the country was possible.

The postal service under the leadership of the Communist Party is quite different from the Kuomintang days. All the postal workers are attending study classes to raise their political and social understanding. We know now that we and the people own the post-office and we are anxious to take on more responsibility. All the postal workers handle matters at the postoffice as carefully as if they were their own personal matters. This has increased the working efficiency, and delays and mistakes are almost a thing of the past.

Every postal worker who reads the speech made by Director-General of Posts Su Yu-nung when he attended the session of the International Postal Union at Berne will be very happy and pleased and will surely want to do his work even more diligently to serve the people. As Mr. Su said, "New China's postal service is advancing in a brilliant way."

CHANG SHU-CHI

Kaifeng
June 1, 1950

LITERATURE & PEACE

To the Editor:

It is hard to know just how much a famous literary work influences people, but whatever excellent style and outstanding characteristics the work possesses, it is certain that to a greater or lesser degree, it is influenced and moulded by the age in which it happens to be written.

Indeed, literature is not an ornament of life, but an instrument which can correct the abuses of society. Undoubtedly, there are many vivid descriptions in literary works, but the purpose of them is not to tell readers how to describe a beautiful scene or a fine sentiment, but to lead readers to seek a better life.

Literature should be full of a faithful description of the social life and system of its age. Thus, it must adhere strictly to reality, and portray men and events as they actually

(Continued on Page 54)

CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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Vol. 118 Shanghai, Saturday, June 17, 1950 No. 3

LAST ACT ON TAIWAN

AS the time for Taiwan's liberation draws nearer, reports from the island indicate a growing nervousness on the part of the KMT hierarchy. Thousands are said to have been jailed by the jittery Nationalists, while torture and execution of prisoners charged with various "crimes" have been reported.

Meanwhile, wealthy residents desiring to remove themselves to Hongkong or other refuges are being forced to bribe their way out through the purchase of a bond (costing US$875) to be forfeited unless they return within two months.

KMT activities on the economic front also indicate that the old ruling gang does not believe it has much longer. Heavy sales of gold in Hongkong for the purchase of silver dollars, plus reports of negotiations for the sale of some of the island's fixed industrial installations to neighboring countries all point to a lack of confidence.

For residents on the already-liberated mainland this is an old story and indicates that the beginning of the end has already arrived. The deciding factor will be when the PLA is ready to launch the campaign.

While it has been evident for a number of years that the KMT was incapable of running the country—the fact that it has all but lost the civil war, despite a great quantity of American aid, constitutes ample proof—it never quite demonstrates its complete bankruptcy so clearly as when it is on the eve of a major defeat.

Jailings, murders disguised as "executions," increased inefficiency, overall corruption and frantic attempts to hang on to power by increase of brutal repression and looting of the civilian population have been the standard "policy" of the regime during each previous "last ditch" stand. This was the case in Nanking, Shanghai, Canton, Chungking and other major cities. And now, it appears, this policy is being repeated on Taiwan.

It is an interesting commentary upon the KMT mentality that the closer it comes to defeat, the more it intensifies those very actions which have alienated it from the people and brought it to grief. It is almost as if disaster held a fatal attraction and that the closer it approached the more frantically the KMT strove to increase the pace.

Aside from occasional pious announcements by Chiang or some other KMT bigwig to the effect that henceforth corruption and inefficiency, and all the other evils of the regime are to be abolished, the old game of cracking the skulls of the people and filching their wallets goes on unabated.

Even announcements of reform measures are frequently seized as excuses and opportunities for more oppression. Some time ago, Shanghai residents will recall, the old Central Government in Nanking—after repeated criticism by American Army advisers who complained that the high-handed manner of the KMT troops was alienating them from the people—promulgated a "Be Kind to the People Week" during which the troops were instructed to make special efforts to get closer to the people. The day after the promulgation of this order, Shanghai's KMT garrison sent representatives to visit local commercial and industrial establishments to solicit—at gun point—"contributions" to finance the "Be Kind to the People Week!"

Despite the increasing indications of internal disintegration, a fresh campaign has been started by various American friends of the KMT, as well as American century planners, to whip up US public sentiment in support of open American intervention to "save" the island.

An increasing number of stories have "emphasized" the importance of Taiwan as a base in the event of war with the Soviet Union. Admirals, generals and various private personalities have been interviewed on the subject. A recent typical story was a *UP* dispatch from Tokyo on June 5 which credited the US Pacific Fleet commander, Admiral Arthur Radford, as saying that if Taiwan were to fall into the hands of the "Russians," it could be built into a "serious threat to American bases in this part of the world." He was further reported to have said that if the US held Taiwan, "in time of emergency it could be important to America."

Actually, a close reading of the story reveals that the admiral really had little to say about Taiwan and that what he did say was a bit vague. However, the story reported that he "gave the definite impression that it would be bad for the [Chinese] Communists to get the island when he said Taiwan in Russian hands could be a 'serious threat' . . ."

Another call for US intervention in the Chinese civil war was sounded by *Time* magazine in its issue of May 22. Long a supporter of the Nationalist cause, *Time* carried a "story" favoring US intervention and a signed article by a correspondent telling about how good conditions were today on the island.

Time states that the summer months provide the best weather for military operations and that "Communist conquest" may come soon, thus confronting the US with an unpleasant situation. It claims that the US decision not to interfere was reached at a National Security Council meeting on December 29, 1949. *Time's* version of this meeting is that Secretary Acheson, who opposed intervening in Taiwan, dominated the meeting and that, although the military were anxious to take steps to "hold Taiwan," their case was badly presented and Acheson's view won out.

However, "in Washington today," *Time* declares, "responsible people will agree on the following points: 1) The US could hold Taiwan.

2) The Chinese Nationalists cannot hold Taiwan without US help. 3) The fall of Taiwan will make much less difficult the Communist conquest of Indo-China and the Philippines. 4) A Communist Taiwan may call for a 20-40 percent increase of US strength in the Pacific. 5) This increase will cost a great deal more than the cost of holding Taiwan."

This interesting logic is then followed by an on-the-spot report by a *Time* correspondent who writes: "Taiwan represents the greatest irony in Asia today. Here, in its last refuge, Chiang Kai-shek's government has shed the chaos and despair of the mainland. . . . A young US diplomat in Taiwan's capital of Taipei remarked the other day: 'This is a situation that China has not seen in years.' It is a situation in which trains run on time, the island countryside is peaceful, the currency is gold backed and for months has been stable. There are no ragged refugees or beggars on the streets, no agitators inflaming the students, no discernible great abuses of economic power or large-scale corruption."

Of jails filled to bursting, of executions of "dissidents," of payments for exit permits, of flight of capital, of sale of the island's industrial establishments, *Time's* correspondent says nothing, although he does say, despite the healthy picture he has painted, that a little American money would be welcome. US$30,000,000 for economic assistance before the end of this month and from then on US$10,000,000 a month are what the island needs from America, he reports.

It seems to us extremely unlikely that the United States plans to risk getting its fingers burned twice. No matter how much the American government dislikes the prospect of a "communist" Taiwan, it is obvious that nothing short of actual American participation—which would be an open invitation to war—can save the KMT's hide. American aid and advice, which were so lavishly expended upon this same KMT in the past, succeeded only in providing the PLA with the latest US weapons.

Despite the intensifications of internal repression and the good wishes of American friends, (some of whom might even welcome a new war), the outcome is inevitable and before the year is out we can expect to see Taiwan liberated and once again joined to the mainland. Aid or no aid, the outcome is not in doubt.

Chiang Kai-shek is shown "waiting for his final fate" on Taiwan in this cartoon from the new magazine *Cartoon*. Sitting in his chair, which is supported by American dollars and bayonets, Chiang is throwing the dice with one hand, while clutching "his promise of a counterattack on the mainland" in the other.

SHANGHAI'S NEW PAPER

THE first issue of *The Shanghai News*, a new English-language daily, appeared last Saturday. Owned and published by Chinese interests, the paper, according to an announcement carried in the first issue, hopes to help the local English-reading public understand the new Shanghai and the new China.

Pointing out that the past year has been one of many changes and that the tempo of change is accelerating, the paper states that its aim is to "report faithfully such changes, together with important relevant comments."

It is undoubtedly true that the past year has seen more important developments than any other period of equal length in China's history. Since Shanghai has the largest foreign population of any city in China and, as the country's chief port where contacts with foreign countries are most numerous, it

is only natural that there should be a demand for material in a foreign language, particularly in English.

While the city already has two regular English-language publications, the British-owned *North China Daily News* and American-owned *China Weekly Review*, it has suffered from the lack of a Chinese-owned publication designed for foreign consumption. The new paper may be expected to present a Chinese view of the rapidly developing situation and thus should be extremely valuable in helping the local foreign population to follow and evaluate future developments.

The normal format, we understand, is to be two pages, although the first two days' issues were of four pages. Issues to date have contained a large number of interesting and worthwhile items, such as dispatches from Vietnam, England, France, North Korea and other foreign countries, as well as several surveys of internal developments.

The management and staff of the new paper are to be congratulated for undertaking to fill a real need. *The Shanghai News* can—and we feel certain will—help both China and the foreign residents in this country.

Which Paper Do You Read?

A recent ruling of the Supreme Court of India, upholding freedom of the press was described by the Washington Post on May 31 as an "event of great significance" in Asia. "The significant thing is that the court is interpreting the Indian constitution in a judicial atmosphere instead of merely falling in with executive and legislative policy."—Press agency dispatch from Washington on June 1.

"Whenever the government requires from a newspaper (as it does in India today) a deposit of money as a security for good behavior, to be forfeited at the government's discretion; whenever it requires the submission of all press material to the censor's office before publication; whenever it reserves to itself the power to suspend a newspaper at will, and the paper has no redress in law—whenever any of these things happen, the freedom of the press, accepted as a fundamental civil liberty, is violated. Scores of (Indian) journals, faced with censorship orders, have ceased publication. Hardly a week passes without fresh news of the suppression of a journal or the proscription of books and pamphlets."—Eastern World, March, 1950.

KEEP ABREAST OF EVENTS

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25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

Students & May 30th Incident

June 13, 1925

Student Hsiao Shu-yu then gave his account of the shooting in the following words:

". . . The police first pushed us back. Sticks were used. We refused to move and we laughed as we were struck. In fact all of us offered to be struck. We made a rush for the door of the station and shouted: 'Let's all go to jail with the other innocent boys!' The police again accosted us. We were pushed back further. But meanwhile a dozen Sikh police with fixed bayonets had lined up in front of the gate of the station. Ahead of them was a European policeman with a pistol in his hand.

"When we made our second charge, the European policeman signalled to the head Sikh constable who fired in the air. Half a minute later when we saw that the firing was not directed at us, we shouted: 'Hit them! Hit them!' and bang came the volley of rifle fire from the entire squad. My schoolmate of the Tung Chi Medical School, Yin Ching-yi, who was standing beside me, fell in a pool of blood. The crowd surged back and before I knew it I was stepped on by a number of students and on-lookers."

A Long, Long Time Ago

The Kuomintang majority has lined itself up definitely with Russia, has broken with Peking and called a national assembly for August 15, not only in opposition to the Peking government but also all the powers enjoying special rights in China because of treaties with Peking. The Communistic faction of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang adopted a statement of principles written by Wang Ching-wei which is worth re-stating in this article:

"It is impossible to cooperate with Tuan Chi-jui (provisional Chief Executive), but we must continue the national revolutionary struggle for calling a national convention and the abrogation of unequal treaties. The Kuomintang should therefore continue hand in hand with the Soviet Republics in the struggle against imperialism."

10 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

Italy Enters War

June 15, 1940

Reversing her stand in the first World War when she joined the Triple Entente against Germany and Austria-Hungary, Italy this week cast in her lot with Nazi Germany. On Monday, June 10, Italy declared war on the Allies, choosing for the fateful decision a moment in which France found herself in dire peril as German troops drove to within 25 miles of Paris.

In announcing Italy's entry into World War II to cheering crowds gathered before the Palazzo Venezia, Premier Mussolini declared that he had "done all that was humanly possible to halt the war, but it was useless." Italy, he said was entering the battlefield against the "plutocratic, reactionary democracies of the West which at all times have opposed the march of events and often plotted against the very existence of the Italian people. . . Our conscience is absolutely clear."

Farmers' Land Sold to Japanese

The Municipality of Greater Shanghai published a notice in the newspapers several months ago warning Chinese property-owners that their lands would be confiscated unless they appeared at the Civic Center in person and registered the property. It was reported that a Japanese Army officer was in charge of the new registration office. Recently the new Japanese realty company announced that it was opening up a new factory site in the vicinity of Woosung and was selling land for the construction of manufacturing enterprises in that area. Nothing was said in the report about the Chinese owners of the land, which was being disposed of, chiefly to Japanese. Previously all this land was occupied by Chinese farmers, most of whom were driven away to become refugees in Shanghai and elsewhere at the time of the Japanese invasion.

THE PHILIPPINE PEASANT ARMY

From their mountain base in Central Luzon, the Hukbalahap wage an armed struggle for land reform, democratic industrialization and civil rights.

RECENT reports from the Philippines indicate that the spirit of the Hukbalahap, the peasant army carrying on an armed struggle against the government, has been fired by two current events, one international and the other domestic.

The success of the Communists in China and the irregularities of the national election in the Philippines have raised Huk hopes as well as giving them greater prestige and adding new recruits to their ranks.

China has not only been a psychological uplift to the Huks but the application of Marxism to Asiatic agrarian conditions worked out by Mao Tse-tung—the top leadership of the Huks is mostly Communist—provided them with a guidebook of valuable lessons, now keenly studied.

At this stage it seems fitting to point out that all alleged "Moscow control" over the Huks is entirely unfounded. Until a short time ago whatever foreign influence existed in the ranks of the Philippine Communist Party was almost all American.

Dishonest Elections

That the elections in the Philippines would not have been looked upon with favor by the Honest Ballot Association is now a fact which even conservative periodicals have acknowledged. The immediate result has been the election of Quirino but his victory may turn out to be a pyrrhic one. Thousands of anti-Communists who were shocked by the unsavory manipulations are agreeing that Luis Taruc, Huk commander-in-chief, and Mariano P. Balgos, general secretary of the Communist Party, were right in declaring before the election that there would be wholesale cheating at the polls, mass denial of the vote, intimidation and fraud.

Almost a year before the election Taruc had warned: "We are faced by the fact that a clean government cannot be achieved by parliamentary action."

The decision of the Huks and the Communist Party to give "reluctant and qualified" support to Laurel was attacked on the basis of Laurel's record as puppet president under the Japanese and defended on the grounds that those voting for Laurel would be the "workers, peasants and anti-imperialist forces."

It is now obvious that a sizable fraction of the Laurelites, especially in the cities—Laurel polled 40 percent of the vote in Manila—are now more inclined to cooperate with the Communist-led forces than hitherto. A loose-knit "anti-Quirino" coalition, extending from the urban middle-class to the poorest of agrarian folk is already being formed. In this broad grouping the Communist Party and its allies in the cities and the Huks in the countryside are assuming leading positions.

The attacks on government civil and military personnel in the wake of the election were committed chiefly by hastily formed sects of Laurel supporters. Some of these armed bands are now fighting side by side with the Huks.

Organized on May 29, 1942, as the "People's Anti-Japanese Army," the Huks suspended activities shortly after V-J Day. They reconstituted their ranks when it seemed apparent to them that the status quo was returning. On June 25, 1946, they again raised the banner of the Hukbalahap, this time calling themselves the "National Liberation Army," and emerged in the field as the fighting arms of the Pambansang Kaishang Manggagawa (PKM) or National Peasants' Union. The PKM's membership is easily 10 times that of the Hukbalahap but the Huks are the "leadership" force, occupying the same position as the Chinese Red Army to the civilian mass organizations which gave it full support.

In uniting the land-hungry peasants of central Luzon against the returning *caciques* the Huks found ready support. When the *caciques* had fled from the Japanese advance it was their tenants who tilled the soil, and the peasants felt entitled to some of the earth they had tended during the harsh war years. A. H. Lacson, one of Manila's best-known journalists, sized up the issue concisely when he wrote: "The disturbances that now rock the central plains are nothing more than a phase of the struggle of the dispossessed for possession, for the chance at life that is more than animal living, for land that by right of work is theirs."

Peasants Suffer Greatly

The plight of the Philippine peasant is so well known as not to need repeating. Suffice it to sum up his condition in the words of Amado Hernandez, formerly poet laureate of the islands and now a city councillor of Manila: "The peasant, traditionally a share cropper, is compelled to live a more miserable existence than even the underpaid city worker. Like his work animal, the Carabao, he is hog-tied to hard labor, debt and want. He and his whole family are perpetual slaves to the absentee *cacique*."

In considering the possibilities of Huk success it is worth taking into account the fertile ground they seek to cultivate. Eighty percent of the population of the Philippines are peasants. For decades the issue of absentee ownership—some of the richest landholdings belong to foreign and urban interests—has fermented discontent, riots, rebellions and bloodshed.

As the Huks grew in their initial territories, Pampangas and Nueva Ecijta provinces, they expanded to other parts of Luzon and to other islands. And as they branched out they found allies. The government justifiably laments that the "eradication" of the Hukbalahap is made difficult by the shielding of Huks by individuals and organizations in areas where no active Huk unit operates.

Early in their post-war career the Huks realized the danger of being isolated as an insurgent peasant organization and through the Communist Party and left-wing friends developed close ties with urban labor and middle-class groups. Directly or indirectly, the Huks took their place as part of an "anti-imperialist" united front—albeit flexible and uneven—consisting of such diverse elements as the Congress of Labor Organizations (CLO), Democratic Alliance, Philippine United Peasant and Labor Organization (PUPLO), Federacion Obrera De Filipinas (FOF), National Textile Workers' Union (NDC), Public Utilities Employees' Association (MERALCO) and a section of the Nacionalista Party.

China Points the Way

Failure of the Roxas administration to alleviate the agrarian situation as well as to liquidate urban unemployment, relieve the acute rice shortage, guarantee civil rights and satisfactorily meet similar demands sharpened the appetite and broadened the perspective of the leftist forces. The concentration on achieving reform measures gave way to a new aim: the overthrow of the government by force. In January, 1948, Taruc declared that the Philippines would go the way of China.

When Elpidio Quirino succeeded Manuel Roxas to the presidency of the Philippines, following the latter's death while in office, he projected an "amnesty program" which, after thorough discussion by the leadership of the Huks, PKM and the central committee of the Communist Party, was accepted by Taruc.

Taruc qualified his agreement with a statement of intentions. If the amnesty failed and "a really democratic state" was not achieved by peaceful constitutional means, he declared, "revolution (would be) the only remaining alternative."

He called for a "quick, radical adoption of social and economic reforms," outlining three immediate steps which had to be taken. One was in the field of civil rights, one dealt with "democratic industrialization" and the third centered around the land question.

On the latter issue Taruc's proposals were not a whit more radical than those advanced by Quirino's own commissioner of Social Welfare, Asuncion A. Perez.

Mrs. Perez, who proved herself unique among public officials by making a first-hand report of peasant conditions, studying areas which the wide-eyed press reported as "unvisited by any government agency except the constabulary," recommended the following: Industrialization of the rural areas, expropriation of landed estates over 200 hectares for re-sale to tenants, humanization of

the methods of the various instrumentalities of law enforcement, benefits to former guerillas and a long-range education program.

Neither her suggestions nor Taruc's demands were carried out but the collapse of the amnesty in August, 1948, was due to another and more immediate factor. The Huks insisted upon an "armed truce" while the government urged the peasants to surrender their arms. Neither side prevailed and fighting was renewed. This time, as expected, it spread beyond its previous limits, lighting conflagrations in South Luzon, Iloilo, Bicol, the Visayas, Mindanao, Leyte and other areas.

Taruc Calls for Action

In a message sent to a rally held on February 24, 1949, to commemorate the death of Manuel Joven, the trade union leader murdered by "persons unknown," Taruc made the issue clear. He boldly declared:

"Those who are in power in our country are hastening the day when a people's justice will rule for Filipinos too." (The reference was to China.) "Today we are not faced merely by an issue of graft and corruption. We are faced by the fact that a clean government cannot be achieved by parliamentary action. This truth is being accepted by an ever-growing section of the Filipino people, who are realizing that it is necessary to take up arms in order to win their demands, to conduct an armed struggle for freedom, democracy and a decent way to life. In this they are guided by the main spirit that led the people to fight the tyranny and corruption of Spain and Japan, and which is the only recourse when all other means to gain their demands have failed. They appear to have failed today. Let now the lessons of our history begin to assert themselves."

On March 12, 1949, in a lecture at Manila's Town Hall, the general secretary of the Communist Party, Mariano P. Balgos, declared: "The days of the puppets of imperialism are numbered."

Two weeks later, in a letter to the *Manila Times* assailing Quirino's proposed "Pacific Pact," Taruc wrote:

"The imperialists and the traitors will be destroyed by the patriotic action of the people. And the Hukbalahap, loyal to the people's interests, will be in the forefront of that struggle."

Similar utterances have been made by Huk, PKM and other left-wing leaders.

That the revolutionary forces consider themselves engaged neither in suicidal action nor in tilting at windmills can be demonstrated by the pre-election analyses made by the Communist Party. A sample quotation will underline their outlook and determination.

"In their desperate reliance on US financial aid and military protection, the puppet administration will eventually yield to all demands of the imperialists. Thus, our country is faced with the prospects of more ruthless suppression, the like of which not even the worst under the Japanese occupation can approach. It is this policy which will stiffen the resistance of the Filipino democratic and nationalist elements, who hitherto have still been confused by imperialist propaganda. This resistance will naturally invite further suppression, and thus facilitate the rallying of greater masses around the armed struggle. The favorable international developments will also strengthen the wavering anti-imperialist elements, who are just waiting for such developments to take a more active role in the anti-imperialist struggle."

According to the Communist Party there are three groups, organized according to class alignments, who are making a bid for power. These are: the feudal landlord-comprador combination, backed by imperialists; nationalist bourgeoisie, both big and petty; and the peasant-worker combination.

Party Alignments

The first (according to the CP) holds sway over the Liberal Party, of which Quirino is a member; the second group rules the Nacionalista Party, whose candidate was Laurel; and the last named dominates the organized peasant and trade union movements, the leadership of the Communist Party and has some influence over "wavering anti-imperialist groups." All three groups are carrying on an intensive contest for the support of the unorganized peasants and workers and the petty bourgeoisie masses.

The "peasant-worker combination" described precisely the revolutionary force which was begun with the reorganization of the Huks and later developed a "worker reserve," composed of militant trade unionists in urban centers.

The biggest development in the Huk program is the establishment of a permanent base of operations, such as the Chinese Communists organized following their "Long March." Hitherto the Huks have carried on as a transient group of small units, their central headquarters being wherever Taruc and his staff camped for the night.

In a yet undisclosed "mountain fortress" in Central Luzon, the Huks

The above photograph, from *Life*, shows a group of Hukbalahap guerillas moving along a trail in central Luzon, 65 miles north of Manila. In center wearing sombrero and short jacket is Luis Taruc, leader of the Huks. Weapons shown in picture, according to *Life*, include an American army carbine carried by man walking in front of Taruc, and an old Japanese submachine gun, held by man directly behind Taruc. Huk commander Taruc, who has repeatedly been "killed" by Philippine Constabulary, was reported to be very much alive by an American Army deserter, who recently surrendered to Philippine government authorities after spending a year, he claimed, living with the Huks.

and the PKM base founded the first settlement of their proposed "People's Democracy." Hundreds of families have been given land and a plan for intensive cultivation of the soil put into effect. The Huks hope to be able to supply some of their food and clothing needs from the output of this area.

The Huk base was carefully selected. Its terrain is such as to be a shield against strafing and bombing, an intricate air-raid warning system giving the peasants ample time to reach the safety of the nearby caves. The few passes and steep slopes can easily be defended against large bodies of assaulting troops. Even a long siege will not force its downfall as the Huks feel sure they can feed the people from the land and accumulated stocks as well as slip through the encirclement for any necessities they might need.

This Huk "anchor" does not mean the peasant units have retreated to defense positions. Far from it. The very existence of a community which they can call their own has strengthened their determination. Today vigorous and bitter fighting goes on in the Candaba swamps, the Cagayan Valley, Mindoro, the Sierra Madre hills of Nueva Ecija and in Tayabas, Lagunas and Batangas.

What kind of weapons do the Huks possess? How disciplined are their forces and how do they operate? These are three questions frequently asked by people in the United States who are limited to a mere acquaintance of what is going on in the rice paddies, plains and mountains of the war-torn Philippines.

The Huks have every type of infantry weapon carried by the constabulary forces. Constabulary soldiers deserting to the Huks often take their equipment with them and the Huks make constant raids upon armories, police stations, encampments, etc., as well as ambushing constabulary units.

Every Huk squadron is equipped with at least one machinegun, two sub-machineguns, hand grenades, rifles and pistols. The Huks have a network of motor pools, consisting of trucks, jeeps, command cars and motorcycles. They possess tanks, flame-throwers and light cannon. Schools on the use and maintenance of military equipment are in constant operation.

Well-Disciplined Army

Contrary to some reports, the discipline of the Huks is of a high order, probably on a level with that of the Chinese Red Army. Any soldier accused of plunder, rape, violence or pollution is instantly court-martialled —and the sentences are severe ranging up to and including the death penalty.

When the Huks seize a town they put up posters proclaiming their slogans and then call the townspeople to a meeting, usually held in the market place or in front of a public building. No one is forced to attend. Questions are invited and the audience is urged to express its grievances. After explaining their program the Huks seek to organize "resistance cells" and gain recruits. Occasionally contributions are requested, each family asked to donate one peso. By this time the constabulary, which someone has notified, is in hot pursuit. Word is passed up to the Huks by their chain of outpost scouts and they retreat to the security of predesignated hideouts.

Leaflets are the favorite form of Huk propaganda. They are printed —or handwritten! — in English, Tagalog and the dialect of the area of distribution, and then circulated by hundreds. Excerpts from a typical leaflet read:

"UNITE UNDER THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT.

"Very soon there will take place in our country a national movement which will overthrow the power of American imperialists, their Wealthy Puppets and the Feudal Landlords, who are the root cause of our poverty, oppression and humiliation."

Leaflets addressed to the constabulary ask:

"Why do you endure to stay and live under the influence of those who exploit, oppress and humiliate you? Of those who cause your poverty and insecurity? Why is it that you preferred to fight against us, we, your brothers—the HUKS and PKM's? Is it because we fight for the liberation of our country from American domination and save all oppressed classes . . . especially those working, from exploitation and poverty, that is why you fight us?

"The people of the whole world are now rising to overthrow their oppressors and exploiters. The same thing is now happening in our country. This is the time for all of us to unite and rise against those Imperialist, Feudal Compradors and their wealthy puppets —who have tortured our lives for hundreds of years. . . . If you want to win let us unite. . . . Our unity shall insure our Victory . . . Don't fight for Slavery—Fight for Liberty.

"WORKERS SHOULD NOT FIGHT WORKERS. WHEN WORKERS FIGHT AGAINST WORKERS OUR ENEMIES WIN.

"WHEN WORKERS UNITE AND STRUGGLE OUR ENEMIES FALL."

* * *

NUMEROUS estimates have been made as to the strength of the Huks and the PKM. It is the writer's opinion, after careful consideration of all evidence, that the Huks number 20,000 active fighting men with about 25,000 reserves ready to take the field at an hour's notice. The PKM has about 300,000 members and nearly half a million sympathizers. Urban support—trade unions, small business, students, professionals, etc.—is over the quarter million mark.

Whatever the result, 1950 is sure to see an intensified campaign on the part of the revolutionaries as well as by the government. The challenge to the Quirino regime has not yet reached the critical stage but unless the Huks are smashed in the field or a full-scale program of far-reaching social reforms is launched, neither of which appears likely, the end of the year may see the US Pacific Periphery Defense Zone menaced by the flames of revolt.

However, what Washington will see fit to do in such a situation is beyond the province of this article.

— RALPH RICHARDSON

(Reprinted from the Eastern World)

US Critical of Quirino Regime

Recent press dispatches indicate that the US government and American business interests are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the government of Philippine President Elpidio Quirino. The continuing successes of the Huks and the corruption and inefficiency of the government have apparently alarmed Washington, which sees a second China in the offing.

* * *

THE June issue of *Reader's Digest* carried an article charging that political and economic corruption in the Philippines has sowed deep discontent among the people and brought the country to the brink of communism. Roving editor Blanke Clark said that unless a clean government was soon established, "we may find we have put all our Far Eastern eggs into another China market."

He charged that many high officials of President Quirino's administration were "astonishingly dishonest," and claimed that last November "every device known to fraudulent elections was used." He said bribery of under-paid tax officials is rampant and collusion between revenue officers and taxpayers was costing the government 75 percent of its collectible taxes.

He said that because of the "decay" in Quirino's administration, many Filipinos are turning to the Hukbalahap.

This article was followed by suggestions in America that perhaps the US had made a mistake in granting independence to the Philippines before the country was "ready" for it. On June 7 President Quirino replied to this growing American criticism, asserting that the Philippines "is not going to be a second China."

He stated that it would never be necessary for the United States to intervene to preserve internal security, but added that he would welcome additional American troops, if the US wished to send them, because "of the troubled conditions in this part of the world."

Indication that Washington was planning more active participation in the country's economic affairs came with the report on June 11 that complete agreement had been reached between the United States and the Philippines concerning the dispatching of an American economic mission to make a survey of the Philippines' economic needs.

Western Press Distorts China News

Writer charges that antagonism is deliberate and says it proves that the Western press is neither free nor independent, but is a mere tool of government and vested interest.

FOR the past year foreign press coverage of China has presented a day to day record of journalistic prostitution scarcely equaled in history. Running all the way from clever and subtle distortion to outright lying, the Western press, particularly that of Britain and America, has assiduously constructed a totally false picture of China.

Just prior to the liberation the KMT behaved so outrageously that all Shanghai residents, foreign and Chinese alike, heaved a sigh of relief once the Nationalist troops were driven out. This quickly turned into open admiration for the PLA and the new authorities because of their exemplary conduct. For a very short time, the news dispatches from Shanghai were full of praise for the new administration.

Gradually, however, when it became apparent that the old days of exploitation and special privilege were over and that Washington's voice in the administration of the country was to be nil, the tone began to change. In July of last year, William Olive, an American vice-consul, drove his automobile into a restricted area where a parade was forming. Failing to realize the changed conditions, he tried to brush the matter aside because he was an American official. An argument developed between a policeman and Olive, who was finally arrested and taken to a police station. There, Olive refused to identify himself and resisted when a policeman tried to put him in a cell. Olive finally had to be taken to the cell by force but not before he had turned over tables and chairs and caused considerable damage to the room. The foreign press immediately took up the cudgels for Olive, championing his stand and condemning the Chinese authorities.

Special Privileges Gone

The foreign correspondents stationed in Shanghai also found their own personal status altered in a manner not to their liking. Previously they had been able to see any KMT official they wished, since the latter, always anxious for foreign good will, spent a lot of time and money in making the foreign press corps comfortable, providing cheap accommodation, and performing such services as procuring railway and airline tickets, etc.

With the liberation this special position ended. The new authorities were much too busy at their jobs to cater to the desires of foreign correspondents. In addition the new authorities refused to give foreigners, whether correspondents, businessmen or officials, any special privileges.

More and more the correspondents began to rely for their news upon disgruntled foreign officials and taipans who became peeved when they discovered that the new authorities were not constantly at their beck and call as had been the case under the KMT.

One further factor which influenced —and still influences the correspondents—is the attitude of their editors. By its nature the foreign press depends to a large extent upon sensation. Prior to liberation, KMT corruption, the sweeping victories of the "Reds" were good stories in that they excited reader interest and sold papers. On the other hand stories of positive achievements, the repair of a bridge, the reopening of a factory, etc. are less interesting to editors abroad.

Day by day the foreign press began to shift its "viewpoint" until it became openly hostile and the majority of the China correspondents started "interpreting" every development in an unfavorable light.

Early Example

An *Associated Press* story from Shanghai on August 5 of last year is a significant example of the manner in which the correspondents began to "cover" China.

Early in August a local radio comedian, Chu Liang, was arrested after a complaint was made by fellow radio and dramatic workers who charged that prior to the liberation, when Chu had worked for the KMT propaganda bureau, he had forced many radio and stage stars to give special performances for KMT generals and to engage in propaganda work. A number of stars charged that when they at first refused Chu's invitation to entertain KMT bigwigs, Chu gave their names to the Nationalist authorities who then forced them to "comfort" KMT army commanders.

The *AP* version of Chu's arrest ran as follows: "Chu Liang, 'Little Jolly Fellow,' has been arrested for anti-communist propaganda. Chu, a vaudeville actor who first came into disfavor for a skit containing the line 'people like to eat,' was criticized violently by the pro-red press for subversive activity. The *Liberation Daily* says the arrested man now is being questioned."

The very first sentence of the story carries a distortion. Chu was only arrested *after* his fellow workers had publicly complained about his part in press ganging them into entertainment troupes which were forced to comfort KMT officials.

The second sentence, which identified Chu as having first come into disfavor for a skit about people liking to eat, is also a clear distortion. It is true that he ran into difficulties because he put on a skit in which he said people like to eat and in which he also referred to the city's rice merchants as "rice worms." The merchants, angered by the broadcast, which was made during a rice shortage, converged on the radio studio and tried to wreck it.

The two important facts which the *AP* version failed to mention were that it was the rice merchants with whom Chu Liang "came into disfavor" and that the incident occurred during the reign of Chiang Ching-kuo, approximately one year prior to Chu's arrest—which was also, roughly, about one year before the PLA captured Shanghai.

Distortion Has Grown

Gradually, the stories have become more and more distorted, while an increasing number of total falsehoods have been reported as actual facts. From Manila it is regularly claimed that the peasant guerillas now opposing the corrupt Quirino regime are financed and directed from China. Dispatches from Singapore charge that the British would have no "trouble" in Malaya if it weren't for the support being given the "insurgents" by China. In Indo-China, according to the foreign press, it is the same story.

The correspondents writing such stories seem to have given the new China credit for an amazing amount of strength! Considering the fact that we are still in the process of cleaning up the KMT remnants and are just starting to rebuild our ravaged country, it is rather remarkable that we should have the time and strength—not to mention the inclination—to interfere in the affairs of neighboring countries. These stories, of course, never explain just how China manages to influence and aid these guerilla movements in such distant places as the Philippines, Malaya, etc.

However, in the case of Indo-China, which has a common border with China, the correspondents do make an attempt to "explain" how the assistance is given. One recent *Associated Press* dispatch, significantly datelined Taipeh (Taiwan), states that thousands of Chinese troops are being concentrated on the Indo-China border. The absurdity of such an allegation should be clear to anyone in view of the fact that we have already begun to demobilize our army, sending thousands and thousands of men to engage in agriculture or other urgently needed construction tasks throughout the country, maintaining only minimum garrison forces and sufficient troops to complete the liberation of Taiwan and Tibet.

Favorite Theme

Another favorite theme upon which the foreign press continuously plays, is the allegation that China has become a satellite of the Soviet Union. The number and variety of such stories is virtually endless. One account says that 4,000 Soviet troops are the real masters of Shanghai, that they engage in disorderly acts—including rape—which has estranged them from the local populace.

A *United Press* dispatch from Manila on May 9, apparently written by a person who recently left Shanghai, states: "Last month Chinese walking on the Bund, in the heart of the city, said they saw a dozen Soviet nationals wearing dark uniforms and carrying submachine guns, moving supplies from a truck to a small boat for ferrying across the Whangpoo River to Pootung. Chinese Red Sold-

iers ordered the curious bystanders to keep moving." The writer then goes on to say that Soviet soldiers and "advisers" have been seen in various other parts of Shanghai. A White Russian girl is quoted as claiming that the Soviet soldiers are "getting fresh" with foreign girls, and so on and so on. However, in the same story he admits that he himself, during 11 post-liberation months in Shanghai "never saw a Russian soldier."

One of the significant things about these stories of Soviet penetration is that the vast majority of them come, either directly or indirectly, from KMT sources. It is an open secret that Chiang Kai-shek and his hangers-on are pinning their hopes on the outbreak of a war between the East and West. In such an eventuality, they hope to return to China upon American bayonets. Despite this knowledge, the foreign correspondents continue writing stories, many based upon the most fantastic rumors, purporting to give inside information which will prove that the Soviet army has taken over control of China.

Non-Existent Uprisings

Stories of non-existent uprisings by workers, by peasants, by "starving" city dwellers seem to be favorites. China is pictured as a land of chaos and confusion, misery and despair. The fact that food prices in the cities have now been stabilized—for the first time in a decade and a half—does not seem to deter the correspondents, who continue to report that we are all starving.

Many dispatches claim that the only way the government manages to maintain order is by the "firing squad." They picture the new authorities as a group of ruthless men sitting upon a smoldering volcano. They ignore the fact that an unpopular regime, such as the KMT, could not afford to allow mass meetings, parades, and so on because they inevitably turned into anti-government demonstrations and, upon occasion, riots. Here in Shanghai hardly a day goes by without some sort of parade or mass meeting by workers, students, office workers, etc. Not only does the government not restrict such affairs, but it actually encourages them. China is today one of the few countries in the world where it is not even necessary to obtain official permission and police permits for parades.

In an attempt to "prove" their statements about popular discontent and ruthless suppression, they seize upon each crime story appearing in the local press and, by insinuation and judicious use of quotation marks try to indicate that those sentenced were not ordinary criminals, but "political" criminals.

Invariably words such as "robbers," "thieves," "murderers" are put in quotation marks, thus indicating that the writer doesn't believe that the culprits were really common criminals. When a local story tells of the bringing to justice of KMT secret agents, the version written by the foreign correspondents in Hongkong frequently puts the word "justice" in quotation marks, again indicating the writer's disbelief that such a thing exists in the new China.

In addition to such obvious distortions and insinuations, there is the so-called objective method of accomplishing the same end. Dispatches, special articles and "studies" written by the "objective" observers invariably present both "good" and "bad" aspects of the situation.

One recent example of this type of reporting was a long survey of conditions in China. After several paragraphs devoted to a fairly plausible

400,000 Soviets Said Settling In Manchuria

TAIPEH, May 23—(AP)—The Nationalist Defence Ministry said that under plans agreed between Moscow and Red China, 400,000 Soviet citizens would settle in Manchuria.

The Ministry said more than 20,000 of this number had already arrived in Manchuria and were living in Harbin, Changchun, Mukden and other cities there.

The Ministry also alleged that more than 30,000 Soviet advisers and technicians were now attached to the Peiping government and Red China's armed forces.

Soviet advisers, the Ministry added, were now helping Communist armies in their preparations to invade Formosa.

The Ministry further charged that the Peiping government was continuing shipments of food and slave labour to the Soviet Union in exchange for Russian arms and ammunition.

British Firms In China Use Up Reserves

LONDON, May 23—(UP)—W. J. Keswick, chairman o... the China Association which ... all major British ...

SHANGHAI ... Trade Outlook) In Red China Claimed Dark

SAN FRANCISCO, May 23—(AP)—A dismal picture of the prospects of restoring trade with Communist-ruled China u... by ... given here today ... ate Department They returned ...

Shanghai Red... Seen Ruling By Firing S...

Reports appearing ... hai's own controlled ... dicate that the Chi... munists there have e... a regime of "gove... firing squad," an Asso... report said yesterda... Strictly-censored ... there print daily ... executions ordered ... Military Control ... The victims ...

London-Peking Talks Said Lesson To US

NEW YORK, May 23—(UP)—The Herald-Tribune, in an editorial commenting on the negotiations between Britain and Communist China, said today: "Those who advocate quick United States recognition of the Chinese Communist regime would do well to study the record of the British experience to date.

"Rarely, if ever, has the proud British lion had such cavalier treatment from a government it wanted to recognize. The British are learning the mournful truth that the Communist idea of cooperation with the West is all ...

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SHANGHA... Gay Spot of ... Passes Quic...

...OMMUNIST RU...

Manila, May 9. ... Lil's face is red ... of the Whangpoo ... are of worldwide ... s a new master— ...ho is trying to ... ways and make ...

The clippings reproduced above, represent a few days' selections made by the staff of the *Review*. Mainly from Hongkong papers, they indicate the type of "China news" currently being printed abroad and illustrate the point made by Mr. Tao in his accompanying article that there is little if any connection between actual conditions here and the reports appearing in the foreign press.

It is significant to note—especially in view of the fact that the foreign press

explanation of the reasons for the KMT defeat, the writer countered with an extremely critical and highly inaccurate estimation of the new government. After quoting at length from Mao's article on the "People's Democratic Dictatorship," he added: "This statement is simply an involved Marxist way of stating that no opposition to the communists will be allowed . . ."

By such methods the "objective" observers, who find themselves unable to ignore the many concrete gains made during the past year, nevertheless manage to leave their readers with the belief that the new China is "bad." Basically there is little difference between these "objective" writers and the open falsifiers. In the one instance the lying is done openly, while in the other an attempt is made to camouflage the deception.

Russia Throw Might Into

Shanghai Reaction Not eliable

By BLAKE GEARH
MANILA, May
York, May 16.—The Herald-Tribune, refu- pro- it is i, said an in- signifi- e Shang-

AI IS STAGGERING UNDER CONTROL OF COMMUNISTS

Military War

octrinating Moscow

Hundred Refugees

Aboard General Gordon

Aboard The ss General Gordon, A
More than 700 foreigner refugees sa
aboard this luxury liner after nearly a
the Com ist rule during which th
once gr wither a
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Shanghai Dismal After 1 Year ed Control

KONG, May 24—(Reu- e overall picture of ai on the first anniversary "liberation" (May 25) is a one, according to foreign als from the North.
is a virtually bankrupt city, n a considerably impoverish- populace, widespread un- mployment, heavily indebted usiness enterprises and a steady exodus of the foreign com- munity.
The Nationalist blockade, un- precedentedly heavy- taxation and complex and restrictive business regulations all played

ANGHAI LIFE

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nila, May 9. face is red. Whangpoo, worldwide master— rying to nd make

Russian Advisers In China

S'hai Influx Increases

Manila, May 9.
The phrase "Bamboo Cur- tain" is more than a mere figure of speech in Shanghai o-day. Perhaps "Bamboo fence" would be more ap- ropriate, because there is big compound fenced off th bamboo in the wealthy idential district of Hung- he

nade the point any the press

constantly charges that the Chinese press follows an "official line"—that all the clippings, which represent the work of three major news services, follow the same "line": Soviet control, red terror, disaster.

For Shanghai residents these clippings may provide a certain amount of amusement. However, the seriousness of the matter is readily apparent when one considers the effects which this daily diet may well be having upon newspaper readers in foreign countries.

What is the Reason?

HOW is it, we may ask, that the Western press, which claims that it is the custodian of liberal, democratic and independent thought, has behaved so outrageously?

Basically, the reason for this antagonism of the West—which the foreign press so accurately reflects—is because China has all but completed a revolution resulting in fundamental changes in this country which are having and will continue to have considerable repercussions abroad.

China's revolution is, like the Russian revolution, a struggle between the classes of society. By its success, China has joined the camp of the socialist nations who have rejected the capitalist system of social organization which still prevails in America, Britain, Western Europe and many other places.

Because of this basic change in the nature of our social system the governments of the capitalist countries, particularly that of the United States, are, to say the least, extremely displeased.

They are displeased because, economically, the days of exploitation are over. From now on commercial relations between China and the West must be on a reciprocal basis. There will be no more special privilege for the foreign taipans and the Chinese compradores who in the old days milked the country dry. Slowly but surely we shall become economically independent, buying only what we want and need. No longer will China be a dumping ground for surplus raw materials and non-essential finished goods.

They are displeased, politically, because China has now joined the camp of the people's democracies and thus has ceased to be a potential ally in a capitalist crusade against socialism. Thus, at one and the same time, China has weakened America's hand in the cold war and has strengthened the socialist front.

We can thus see some of the main reasons why the American capitalists and their government are antagonistic toward the new China. Since the foreign press is itself a major business and since it is dependent, in the last analysis, upon the favor of the companies who pay for advertising, it is not so surprising that it should adopt a big business point of view vis a vis capitalism and socialism.

By a survey of developments in China during the past year it is easily shown, despite the many attempts made by the foreign press to confuse the issue, that the press has closely reflected the views of the disappointed foreign taipans and adventurers and of the various Western governments who are waging the cold war against the countries advocating socialism.

— *TAO WEI-LIEN*

Peking Greets New Marriage Law

The emphasis now is on simple and inexpensive weddings based on mutual affection, and the women feel they at last have some say in the matter.

SINCE the new marriage law came out on April 13, it has been well discussed by almost every organization and government office, to familiarize people with it and make them realize what a revolution this is in the relations of men and women, how it affects their own lives, and how overwhelmingly important it is in the attack on feudalism. This law was promulgated after 18 months spent on drafting it, in the course of which the drafts were discussed by representative organizations and groups throughout the country, particularly by local branches of the All China Democratic Women's Federation. Thus the new law has almost wholly been based on the experiences of the people themselves, and has again been subjected to the criticism of the people as a whole.

Attitude of Men

As a matter of fact the law has met with almost universal praise, particularly from the women, and above all the women in rural areas, who, following land redistribution and the economic independence they have gained thereby, are anxious to gain a greater physical freedom. Some of the women living in cities have wondered whether their husbands won't try to divorce them and marry younger girls, but we've heard little such questioning.

The real difficulty is in the minds of the men. At study sessions here most of the men have admitted that they still have traces of "feudalism." They still, without thinking in any way, expect their wives to act as cooks or maidservants would, and can't quite imagine what it will be like with women on an equal basis with men. But in their discussions all have stories to tell which serve to emphasize the gross exploitation women were subjected to.

The other day Lao Chen said he remembered seeing women in parts of Kwangtung, particularly those parts where tribal customs still have some influence, being sold in open markets as wives for as often as the sixteenth time. And each time they were sold their owner-husband had to pay a 20 percent tax to the local KMT tax bureau. The more times they were sold the more valuable they were considered, as having received the commendation of many men. If they were with child at the time of their sale, their price went up; if they were strong, they could be used in the fields as well as at home.

Many have been surprised at the simplicity with which marriages are now made under the new law. Wang Chin-ju, who was married in Peking 20 years ago, told us he'd had to call for his bride at one o'clock in the morning, at her home instead of the usual practice of her being taken to his home. "I don't know why," he said, "but they just told me the earlier in the morning you went the better and luckier." When he knocked on the door no one answered, but at last a child's voice asked, "Who's there?", and Wang "bribed" his way into the house by passing the child coins wrapped in red paper through a crack in the door. Apparently this was based on a tradition dating back to the days when girls were carried off by force. Wang reckons he and his bride each had to make no less than 200 kowtows to their relatives that day.

There is general realization of the reason why the new laws are so heavily weighted in favor of women —because women have hitherto been allowed so little say in their marriage arrangements, particularly in the countryside, and having been regarded as chattel are almost invariably the ones sinned against. Even before the national law was announced regions (such as the Northeast) had instituted such regulations.

The result of their announcement, coupled with the economic independence women gained from owning their own land, is already reflected in the figures for civil cases in the courts. In North China alone, matrimonial cases accounted for no less than 64 percent of all civil cases in the first half of last year, and most of these were instituted by the women themselves. This has been true in the majority of places. In Harbin, for instance, 81 out of 86 divorce cases were instituted by the women; in North China, about 81 percent of all matrimonial cases; and in Peking 61 percent. Apparently the overwhelmingly common reason for such cases is that the women were originally bought by their husbands. Eighty percent of the cases brought to the courts at Hantan (Hopei) were based on this, and as high as 90 percent of those at Liaotung in the Northeast.

Grounds for Divorce

Some of the other reasons given are interesting, too: "Unbearable mistreatment by the mother-in-law," "Alarming difference in age" (presumably when one or other has been married off when only a child), "No feeling of love for each other," "Marriage dictated by the parents."

When some of these cases were first brought up there were districts where the cadres responsible for settling them felt it hard to take away a wife from a poor man who had put money into her purchase, and overlooked the fact that in the majority of cases the women themselves came from very poor families and had lost their freedom to boot. Some went so far as to delay a solution endlessly by continually urging reconciliation when reconciliation was out of the range of possibility, or even to shelve the cases indefinitely. There has been a good deal of criticism of such cadres who, by force of habit or tradition, have taken the men's side and refused to appreciate the women's point of view.

But this isn't to say that divorces are granted lightly. People have to prove there are very definite grounds for an application for divorce, and the authorities in one or two newly liberated areas in Suiyuan province, who mechanically granted every application, have been given a thorough dressing down. When the law was first published, newspapers and propaganda teams went all out to explain its proper application and to emphasize that this was a thrust at one of feudalism's deepest roots and in no way an attempt to weaken the family, and that the contempt men have had for women must go, though it will take many years to efface.

* * *

WE had a chance to see a new-style marriage on the very day the law came into force. We went with the couple to the local government office round the corner. There was no previous warning given to the authorities, no putting up of bans, no getting special licenses, and no waiting. A clerk took down the essential details, took out two marriage certificates, filled them in, had the couple sign them, affixed 14,000 JMP (approximately 35 US cents) worth of stamps to pay the tax, gave both the bride and bridegroom a certificate, and shook hands all around. Then we walked out of the office, ten minutes after walking in. There was none of the old-style rigmarole, no expensive feasts or dowries which once often served to bankrupt a family but for reasons of "face" could not be dispensed with. The only celebration was in the evening when their fellow workers added a few dishes to the standard fare.

Even the government considers a wedding party important. Government workers on maintenance basis —when all their living, medical, education and other expenses are paid by the government and they themselves draw no salary—get a small marriage "fee" when they marry, enough to put pots of tea, plates of peanuts, dates and melon seeds on the table, and have their friends in for a dance.

Such simple marriage ceremonies have of course been theoretically possible for many years (and were occasionally practiced), but, while feudal values ruled, anyone who could borrow from friends, or landlord even—though it might mean years or a lifetime of debt—or could sell his last pig to raise cash, put on as big a show as possible.

There's a feeling now that these monstrous shows of a family's wealth and position will very rapidly become a thing of the past. The essential requisite for marriage is no longer as high a price as possible for the bride, or as big a dowry as can be scraped together, or the placating of the new relatives, but the affection two people have for each other.

— *T. S.*

CHINA AFFAIRS

NATIONAL

Industrial Conference

CHINA'S public and private owned industry is to be developed under a coordinated system which will take into account the interests of both sections of the nation's economy. This guiding principal for the future was laid down at a conference of China's leading industrialists which recently concluded in Peking after a two week session.

New regulations governing private investments in industrial enterprises, especially the question of rights and liabilities of private investors, were studied while labor-capital relations were thoroughly discussed. Emphasis was laid on the aid to private business given by the government which has done much to assist it in the past. It was revealed that when public purchasing power created by inflation burst, certain industries faced temporary market stagnation and asked the government for assistance.

Some of the conference members proposed the issuing of more currency. But after discussion the conclusion was firmly against such a move. It was deemed that while inflation creates the appearance of prosperity, it does so at the expense of the people, and in the final analysis it causes a further lowering of purchasing power.

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THE conference agreed that assistance should be given to certain key industries. For example, government aid to revive the textile and knitted-wear industries, which are the most important in east China, is already setting other industries in motion. With regard to commerce, state trading concerns will encourage private merchants to facilitate the circulation of goods between the countryside and the city. State concerns are expected to stabilize market prices at levels which will leave reasonable profits for legitimate private merchants.

Objections were raised to the state trading organizations dealing in such goods as salted eggs from Kaoyu in north Kiangsu province, a local product not vitally important to the people's livelihood. It was argued that state buying of this nature allowed no room for private commerce. On the other hand, representatives from small cities urged state trading firms to buy their local products.

It was pointed out that as China is still predominantly a country of small producers, the state trading concerns did not desire to squeeze private merchants into the background. There was plenty of scope for private merchants especially in buying agricultural products. Merchants are permitted to derive reasonable profits from their dealings but excessive commercial profits, as made during the inflationary period, could not be tolerated.

Attending this important industrial meeting were representatives of private industry and merchants, and personnel of the People's Bank, the Trade Ministry, and industrial and commercial bureaus. Chen Yun and Po Yi-po, chairman and vice-chairman of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs of the Central People's Government presided.

Peace Campaign

THE campaign in support of world peace has assumed nation-wide proportions. According to incomplete reports more than 5,000,000 people throughout China already have signed their names to the Stockholm peace appeal which advocates the banning of atomic warfare and declares the first nation to use this weapon will be revealed as an aggressor.

A brief glance at the different areas of China reveals the extent of the response to the campaign which officially got under way on May 14. Mass meetings have been held not only in major cities but in far off border towns as well. Branches of the China Committee of the World Peace Congress were formed in 17 cities, including Mukden, Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton, Chungking, Wuhan, Kunming and Sian. Up to the end of last month 1,000,000 people in the Northeast had signed the peace appeal.

By the middle of this month Tientsin had already topped the million mark in signatures. Both Peking and Shanghai have already recorded more than half a million signatures respectively while more than 3,000 peasants in the village of Pa Li near Peking held a meeting in defense of world peace. Some peasants not only signed but put their fingerprints under their names.

Among the signers of the Stockholm appeal have been 145 former high-ranking KMT officers who wrote: "Having fought in the KMT anti-people's war, we keenly feel the destructiveness of war. We are convinced that victory must go to the world-wide broad masses of peace-loving people."

The Chinese press gave prominent coverage to the news of a recent mass demonstration in Paris in support of peace, the peace signature drive in Milan, Stockholm and Rumania, and the Danish Communist Party's call to the Danish people to intensify their struggle for peace.

CCP Central Committee Meets

THE Third Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Peking from June sixth to ninth. Thirty-five members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China attended the session together with 27 candidate members and 43 secretaries of the party committees in various provinces and cities and other party workers.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung delivered a report on "The Struggle for a Basic Turn for the Better in the Financial and Economic Situation of the State." Liu Shao-chi made a report on the questions of agrarian reform; Chou En-lai reported on foreign affairs and the united front; Chen Yun reported on financial and economic work and Nieh Jung-chen made a report on military affairs.

Chairman Mao's report and other reports were unanimously approved by the session after discussion. The session came to a close on June ninth.

PLA and Professors

A GROUP made up of 15 professors, lecturers and assistants of the Peking Agricultural Institute have just returned from a novel six weeks' experience in the Northeast where they worked with a People's Liberation Army unit in land reclamation and farming work.

The PLA unit was one of the many production armies now undertaking reclamation work on some of the virgin farmland of the Northeast. When the unit's 30,000 men first arrived they immediately went to work building houses, digging wells, setting up roads and overcoming the difficulties of settling on the land. However, the important technical question of how to understand the complicated terrain and master agricultural techniques still remained. The soldiers needed guidance and a request was sent to the Peking Agricultural Institute.

The working team, consisting of 15 professors, lecturers and assistants, was immediately sent out. They traveled around the reclamation area, studying the local terrain and soil and held meetings with the army men and experienced local farmers in order to obtain a full knowledge and understanding of conditions. Following the completion of their investigation, scores of lectures and reports were given to the PLA men. The professors gave systematic and simple explanations to the questions affecting the soil, methods of cultivation, forestry and livestock.

During the course of their 40-day stay in the Northeast the professors not only helped army production, but also increased their own knowledge of production and collected useful material for teaching. One of the greatest impressions made on these intellectuals was the army's hard work and the thirst for knowledge as well as efficiency in farming on the part of the troops. According to a *Hsinhua* (*New China News Agency*) dispatch from Peking, the professors returned to the capital with a new respect for laboring people and their power to carry through the construction of a new China.

Flood Prevention

THE nation's drive against its age-old enemy floods continues to meet with success. The projects along the Yangtze river in Hunan province mainly at Tungting Lake have been completed. The area around this lake was flooded when the PLA liberated the province last August. The government immediately organized the peasants to rush the draining of water from the fields and the planting of wheat.

At the present stage the dikes are able to protect well over a third of a million hectares or 85 percent of the fertile fields in the vicinity, even if the water level should reach last summer's record high—the top level in 10 years. It is expected that the agricultural output in this region will be increased by over 500,000 tons this year.

Meanwhile, a *Hsinhua* report from Hankow reveals that dike repairs in the Han river basin in Hupeh province are now completed. Unless flood waters exceed last year's the feeling is prevalent that the work just completed will be sufficient to protect from flood 83 percent of the 600,000 hectares of rich farmland along the river, the largest tributary of the Yangtze.

The Week's Business

While quotations of daily necessities and foodstuffs remained relatively stable during the week under review (June 8 to 14), prices of import supplies increased by a considerable margin, particularly for such industrial goods as caustic soda, crude rubber, hardware, steel and iron. During the week the quotation of crude rubber went up from JMP 26,000,000 to JMP 30,000,000 per ton, an increase of more than 15 percent: that of rongate from JMP 1,650,000 to around JMP 2,000,000; and Canadian newsprint from JMP 245,000 to JMP 275,000 per ream.

* * *

THE rise in the prices of import goods started in the early part of May, and assumed serious proportion lately. This firm trend was attributed to the too low quotations of import goods in March and April on the one hand and the revived industrial activities on the other. On June 7, a profit of 24 percent could be netted for the import of rongate, although a loss of nine percent would have been incurred a week ago. The margin of profit was 32 percent for the import of coconut oil on Wednesday as against a loss of 14 percent a week ago. The same situation held for American sodium sulfide and Crescent caustic soda.

Although the firm trend is normal by all means, the steep rise in quotations exposed the fact that there were speculative factors. Such a situation will obviously hinder the current upward business swing. Therefore, the trade authorities have taken a number of corrective steps, such as regulating supplies and bringing adequate quantities of import goods to the city.

Carrying through the decision of the Ministry of Trade of the Central People's Government, a number of state-operated trading corporations affiliated to the East China Trade Department started to make reasonable adjustment of the margin between wholesale and retail prices the early part of June. Following several revisions, the margin between the wholesale and retail prices for medium grade paikeng has been increased from JMP5,000 to JMP 12,000 per picul; that for Dragon Head sheeting from JMP10,000 to JMP20,000; and for edible oil from 2.5 to 6.5 percent.

This widening of the differences between wholesale and retail prices as a result of the adjustments of prices by the various government trading companies has made it possible for private merchants to make some profit in the sale of their goods. This is substantiated by the increased volume of business transacted on the commodity markets during the week.

Meanwhile, the shipping front has also shown increased activity. The s.s. *Dah Lai* of the Tiny Tai Steamship Company, the first ship that made a trial run on the Peiyang line, arrived at Shanghai on June 9 from Tsingtao after completing a voyage of 390 nautical miles. The 505-ton ship brought to Shanghai 167,925 kilograms of chemical and industrial raw materials, including caustic soda, copper, and so forth. The s.s. *Mau Sang* of the Jardine, Matheson & Company, following her first successful voyage from Hongkong since the liberation of Choushan, arrived here on her second trip from Hongkong on June 13, carrying with her a shipment of industrial and chemical raw materials, metals and cotton, totalling 3,647 pieces and weighing 450 tons. The Jardine, Matheson & Company is reported to have offered a 20 percent reduction for freight to Hongkong.

To meet the local industrial demand, the East China Foreign Trade Control Bureau recently announced a list of import goods that are permitted to be imported with self-provided foreign exchange. At the same time, several items, namely paper, potassium chlorate and caustic soda, were banned from import in order to protect domestic industries.

Quotations

Following is a listing of representative commodity prices.

	June 7 JMP	June 14 JMP
Parity unit	5,293	5,178
US dollar (TT)	37,000	37,000
20's yarn	5,130,000	5,150,000
42's yarn	7,890,000	7,920,000
12 lb. cloth	245,000	240,000
Rice, 1st grade	250,000	255,000
Battleship flour	68,500	65,500
Peanut oil	485,000	485,000
Coal briquette	19,000	17,500
Kerosene, Kuokwang	103,840	103,840
Koo Pan soap	215,000	217,000

SHIPPING

Boom Expected

STEAMSHIPS are now regularly sailing between Tientsin, Dairen, Chefoo, Antung, Tsingtao, Yingkow and Lienyun. Following last month's PLA liberation of the Choushan islands shipping companies are anticipating a boom in business. Tientsin exporters estimate that large quantities of goods will be shipped to Shanghai from their city every month.

The estuary from Taku Bar to Tientsin has been deepened, after two months of intensive dredging. From now on, ships up to a 20-foot draught can easily reach and anchor at Tientsin's piers.

General improvements in China's harbors and an increase in coastal shipping strength has greatly stimulated the interflow of goods between ports and between north and south China. Transportation rates of all shipping companies have been reduced to about one-fourth of those prevailing under the Kuomintang. Daily necessities and industrial materials such as coal, salt, grain and iron ore are among the items bearing the lowest freight rates.

Hongkong Cargoes

FURTHER brightening of shipping prospects for Shanghai are the more than 1,000,000 tons of cargo awaiting shipment from Hongkong. Following the safe Hongkong-Shanghai voyage of two British steamers things are looking up in the way of getting the huge stocks of goods stored in the colony for shipment to Shanghai.

According to Shanghai press reports, most of these Shanghai-bound commodities now stocked in Hongkong consist of medicine, industrial raw materials, cotton, machinery, paper and oil. Freight rates quoted by the two leading British shipping companies in Hongkong, the reports stated, at present are HK$120 a ton.

While freight constituted the bulk of business of the two shipping lines at present, no definite measures had yet been arrived at concerning passengers, one report revealed. It was also acknowledged that Hongkong-Shanghai freight transportation handled by the two companies was tentatively similar to that between Tientsin and Hongkong.

Meanwhile, according to the captain of the British ship Mau Sang, one of the first two ships to come into Shanghai from Hongkong following the cutting away of the Kuomintang blockade after the liberation of the Choushan islands, Shanghai is a much better city today than it was under the Chiang regime. The captain reported this upon his return to Hongkong following his initial voyage to Shanghai.

SHANGHAI

District Governments

THE importance of establishing district governments to expedite municipal administration was dealt with by Deputy-Mayor Pan Han-nien in a recent municipal conference. The conference, attended by Chou Ling, secretary-general of the Shanghai People's City Government, and bureau and department chiefs, agreed that governments should be established in various city districts to help carry out city government policies.

Announcement of the impending establishment of the district governments followed the completion of a general reorganization of the district take-over offices, which carried out what was left over by the ex-district offices under Kuomintang control. Each take-over office has sections for civil affairs, industry and commerce, culture and education, public health and a secretariat.

Shanghai residents, commenting on the work of these take-over offices, lauded the efficiency of the new officials, which resulted in the uprooting of all the evil, oppressive influences of the former KMT *pao chia* organizations. During the past year, the various take-over offices have carried out government policies and plans and genuinely cooperated with the people in all districts.

At the conference dealing with district governments for the city Deputy-Mayor Pan referred to press criticism and urged all working members of the local administration to accept it with all sincerity and humility. He emphatically pointed out that recent criticism and self-criticism in the press had gone a long way toward democratizing and improving municipal administration.

Cotton Supply

A REGULAR supply of raw cotton for Shanghai's textile mills has been ensured following the successful planting of nearly a quarter of a million hectares of cotton fields in north Kiangsu province.

Reports state that great pains were taken by the government to bring about this success. Two-hundred and fifty thousand peasants were organized last winter and they have been working right through this spring reinforcing the 220 miles of dikes along the rivers and dredging and widening the nine main rivers in the area to preserve the land from floods. Several thousand hectares of land were turned into experimental farms to produce the finest possible cotton seeds. Loans were granted to cotton planters in the form of good cotton seed, insecticide and new farming implements.

The general aim of the people's government is to raise cotton output in this area to the pre-war level within three to five years, by replacing the seeds commonly used here by high yielding and disease resisting varieties from the experimental farms.

The great concern shown by the government, according to *Hsinhua*, has stimulated the enthusiasm of the farmers, who have been tending their land with a care rarely known at any time in the past.

Articles of Interest:

Criticism and Self-Criticism

In a recent article in Kwan Cha (Observer) Vol. 6, No. 14, entitled "How to Comprehend and Utilize Criticism and Self Criticism," Professor Chao Li-sen of the Northeastern University explains the benefits he feels will arise from the wide promotion and right use of this movement. Calling criticism and self-criticism "weapons for the exercise of the struggle among friends and comrades" and "the prime mover in pushing development and progress in the new society," he urges the proper use of these weapons and points out their application "is a most difficult art" to be employed with care "and exercized in various ways according to the actual conditions."

* * *

IT is a mistake, Professor Chao writes, to think that only members of the leading political party should use criticism and self-criticism; these weapons, he states, should be regarded as indispensable to every single person who is united in working with the leading party. Nor should their use be considered as limited to people outside the party for criticising the party and self-criticism be neglected. Of course, the writer continues, the leading party should be first in promoting the use of these weapons and develop the movement into a mass movement. Professor Chao states that only when the people possess these weapons can China be made into an "excellent model of democratic centralism."

The good results which he envisages once the criticism and self-criticism movement is in full swing, Professor Chao summarizes as follows:

1) The fostering of "the sense of being masters" in the minds of the people and making them "positively responsible for the constructive undertakings of the country." However, he reminds his readers, old attitudes to state affairs cannot be corrected quickly and in submitting their opinions some of the peasants may feel this is like petitioning the emperor; while youth and intelligensia, as a heritage from their pre-revolutionary struggles, may continue to be easily roused to sharp antagonisms. Through criticism and self-criticism, the writer states, these attitudes can be corrected. Experiences at conferences of peoples' representatives, labor delegates, and peasants, have proved, he states, that only a few examples of the effective use of criticism and self-criticism consolidates the sense of being masters in the minds of the masses.

2) Improving "the relations of all levels between leaders and those being led . . . so as to make them unite and cooperate more closely . . ." The author states that though old pre-revolutionary organs and institutions have been overthrown they are staffed with people from the old society retaining many habits from their past, i.e. "a bureaucratic attitude, arrogance, disobedience to leadership, sentimentality, etc." Criticism and self-criticism he claims will prove powerful weapons in ironing out troubles which arise from such defects.

3) Prevention of "the growth of bureaucracy." Bureaucracy, the author defines as being of two kinds: "toilsome" or "new bureaucracy," for explanation of which he refers his readers to a recent *Hsin Hua* editorial on the subject; and "old bureaucracy," which is demonstrated in those who blindly obey the Communist Party and ignore the voice of the masses, or in those who claim they work for a united front and leave people who are wrong to collapse in due course. This, Professor Chao says, is an attitude which regards policy as mechanical. The masses, he asserts, by use of criticism and demanding the use of self-criticism by those who are wrong, can save such persons from collapse. Recent cases in the papers, when leaders of certain organs have been asked to apologize openly to the masses for their mistakes, have occurred he points out, not to cause the collapse of these leaders, but to help them shake off bureaucracy and to progress.

However, Professor Chao cautions, due to the newness of these weapons, misuses of the following kinds must be guarded against:—

1) Destructive and discouraging or impracticable criticism. The first he illustrates by quoting criticisms of the newly born Chinese Republic by a former official of the Manchu court. This type of criticism he says, "besides creating an atmosphere of disappointment and pessimism, was only advantageous to the restoration of the throne" and the rank and income of the ex-official. Discouraging and impracticable criticism the author describes as that which may so affect a person, who is doing his best to progress and change, as to dampen his ardor for learning. Other instances of such criticism undermine people's prestige before the masses, after they have already acknowledged their mistakes and are rendering service to the revolutionary cause and the people.

2) Platitudinous and trifling criticism. Professor Chao points out that some people like to exaggerate trifles into problems of principle. Care, he says, must be taken to avoid this or criticism and self-criticism become a petty affair.

3) Abstract, loose and impenetrable criticism must be opposed, writes the author. The weapons of criticism and self criticism he states are not to be exercised in a slipshod manner. "They must," he concludes, "be serious as well as penetrating and practical."

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPAN

Communist Purge

A MONTH ago, following General MacArthur's warning, observers forsaw an early attempt to ban the Japanese Communist Party as indications of Japanese restiveness grew under the occupation. By the first week of this month the SCAP-directed Japanese government had drawn up the "procedure" for purging 24 members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Japan. The members of the committee were given 21 days to resign from whatever civic posts they held. They will not be allowed to participate in elections, hold civic posts, be trade union leaders, engage in any political activity or visit the premises of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan.

Hand in hand with the Communist purge Japan's American rulers and their puppets, the Yoshida government, have made it quite plain that they are ready to suppress any strike or "disorder" organized in protest against the barring of members of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party from civic activity. The threat to the Japanese labor movement was expressed by the chairman of the National Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan when he declared that MacArthur's directive was aimed against the trade union and the democratic movement and that the working class of Japan was fully determined to fight against the reprisals, in defense of freedom and the civil rights of the people.

Within two days of MacArthur's directive 41 Japanese Communists were purged. Following the banning from public office of 24 members of the Central Committee, another MacArthur directive banned 17 Communist newspapermen from public office.

Union Leaders Arrested

YASUMASA Sato, chairman, and Hiroshi Nakagawa, secretary of all government employees unions were arrested following the announcement of purging of "Communists." It was reported they were charged in connection with an open letter sent to MacArthur's headquarters by 30 unions complaining of "spying" methods by General MacArthur's subordinates. Two other union leaders were arrested earlier in connection with a rally held in Tokyo on June 3, which approved the letter.

The All-Japan Automobile Industry Workers Union sponsored a strike of works of the Nissan factories in protest against the recent police ban on demonstrations and the arrest of two union leaders.

At the same time, the government's Education Minister Amano advised Japanese students to stay out of politics. He said that clause two, article eight, of the Education Standard Law governing prohibition of political activities by faculty members of educational institutions also applied in spirit to students.

Background to Purge

THE past few months in Japan has seen a stiffening in the attitude of the authorities toward the growth of the union movement. Such a policy, it has been charged, is a natural outcome of American policy which has seen the end to even half-hearted efforts at a democratization of Japan, a cleaning up of the Zaibatsu or just punishment for war criminals.

In recent months workers and students have led strike movements throughout the country. According to official figures, 1,200,000 people were on strike in March. The months following failed to see a cessation of strikes either. Simultaneously, spearheaded by the student movement, there has been increased activity in Japan in protest against conversion of Japan into an American military base and against involvement in another world war.

While the Communist Party and the Japanese trade unions pledged themselves to fight the measures being adopted against them there was little doubt that Prime Minister Yoshida, and his government, accused of being "traitors who have sold themselves to the US," were bent on carrying out MacArthur's plan to completely smash the Communist Party.

Foreign Business Wins

A REPORT from Tokyo reveals that foreign business circles in Tokyo regard the Japanese government's revision of its plans to tax foreigners up to 55 percent of their incomes as the first major defeat of Japanese "big business" since the war. They declare that if the government had been allowed to continue with its plans most Japanese branches of foreign business firms would have been driven "to the wall."

According to foreign business people, those who stood to gain most from the proposed taxation were the Zaibatsu "dummies" which have succeeded the old financial oligarchy. Nothing, foreigners in Tokyo say, would have pleased these firms more than to have foreign competition driven out of Japan. The government did not give way to the foreign demands in the tax battle until it "became crystal clear that to pursue its intention might bring it into conflict with practically every victor nation."

The final measure adopted dropped the proposed tax to 30 percent of foreign incomes. However, the government provided an allowance of 50 percent exemption from taxation on the incomes of top executives in certain specified undertakings. In addition, accountants, lawyers and others who assisted in the flow of foreign investment were also to be granted a 50 percent exemption provided that 30 percent of their income was received from the above specified undertakings. Finally, taxes were to be paid only on income drawn in Japan.

These concessions, it was reported, were to the "big men." The "small men" received little or no benefit. No exemptions were allowed junior foreign executives, clerks, and the like, most of whom have to draw their whole earnings to live in Japan.

This reprint from "Cartoon," a Shanghai magazine devoted exclusively to cartoons, is one of a series dealing with "American Imperialism's East Asia New Order." A recently freed Japanese war criminal is shown praising the Emperor, who is shown with a scroll extolling everlasting military good fortune while being propped up by General MacArthur.

MALAYA

No Outside Aid

THERE is no evidence that Malayan insurgents are receiving arms from outside the country, according to a spokesman on the staff of Lieutenant-General Harold Briggs, director of anti-insurgent operations.

The spokesman added that the Singapore authorities were "astonished" at the reported statement in Canberra of Percy Spender, Australian External Affairs Minister, that Malayan insurgents were receiving arms from outside sources.

At the same time, from London, it was revealed that the Colonial Office will launch a drive for more recruits for Malaya. Only men with police or administrative experience will be eligible, and attempts will be made to recruit the total number of men required from the civilian police force, including the Criminal Investigation Department and other special branches in this country. Simultaneously with this Colonial Office announcement Colonial Secretary Griffiths, on his way home from a visit in Malaya, reported that the people of Malaya were giving their overwhelming support to the government.

New Action Wanted

LONDON'S influential weekly, *The Economist* recently stated:

"Both ministers have been at pains to make reassuring statements. What is needed now is for them to carry the Cabinet with them on their return, and to turn words into deeds."

The periodical also stated that it had been one of the most remarkable features of the Malayan emergency that constant insurgent attacks had entirely failed to make any serious setbacks in Malaya's economy, which accounts for one-fifth of the sterling area's dollar earnings.

"This immunity cannot be expected to continue, even if the pressure grows no greater. The output would almost certainly decline very sharply, even if conditions become only a little worse than they are now," according to *The Economist*.

INDO-CHINA

US Mission Hit

HO Chih-minh's Vietminh Radio called the establishment of an American mission in Indo-China a "new attempt to convert Indo-China into a base for aggression."

In a broadcast the radio said: "The establishment in Indo-China of an American mission directed by Robert Blum is new evidence of the American will to intervene in the war in Indo-China, a new attempt to convert Indo-China into a new base for aggression against the rising tide of popular movements, and in provision of an eventual third world war which the international reactionaries are now preparing."

The same broadcast attacked the "French colonists" who, it said "will be supplanted in Indo-China by Wall Street." It added: "The American plan will fail completely, first, because the French colonialists will not surrender without a struggle before the Americans, second, because it will be difficult for the imperialists to find enough men to carry out their policy, and third, because the Indo-Chinese peoples will violently oppose attempts to transform their territory into a base for imperialist aggression."

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FIVE of Saigon's 10 Vietnamese dailies were suspended recently. One was suspended for publishing a press association dispatch quoting the *New China News Agency* as saying that French forces suffered heavy casualties in a recent Vietminese attack. The French had called the attack a failure.

Another paper was suspended for publishing articles which the government claimed were defamatory and inflamed the superstitions of the population. No reason was given for the suspension of the other three papers.

Meanwhile, French circles in Saigon believe that Indo-Chinese Communist Party membership in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand has increased more than six times since 1947 to more than 300,000.

In Saigon the government, taking advantage of the new "anti-terrorist" regulations recently enacted, sent its police on an intensive drive against suspects. According to Saigon press reports, 40 persons were arrested within 48 hours.

THE WEST

US Aids Portugal

PRO-FASCIST Portugal is being included for the first time among the Atlantic Pact recipients of military aid from America. Washington officials have stated that small amounts of naval and air force equipment will be sent to help protect Portugal's strategic coastline and important Azores war bases.

Marshall aid also was coming into Portugal and the beginning of last month witnessed the arrival of the first consignment of goods. In bringing about closer ties with the American government the Portuguese government has made a bid to attract American visitors. Entry visas for American citizens traveling for tourist purposes were abolished two months ago.

* * *

TALK of developing a Pacific defense treaty among the non-Communist allies of World War Two has been revived recently in Washington. It was deemed possible in Washington that such a device might be used if the US government decided that a regular peace treaty with Japan was not a good idea at this time and that a peace settlement must be arranged by other means.

According to Washington reports, State Department officials—along with adviser John Foster Dulles—have looked into the idea. It was believed that the plan would come up for discussion when Dulles and MacArthur met in Tokyo around the last half of this month.

Defense Secretary Louis Johnson and General Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, are expected to arrive in Tokyo for treaty talks with MacArthur. There has been some speculation that Dulles' decision to leave about the same time was prompted by the desire of the State Department to share in the development of any policy idea which General MacArthur, Johnson and General Bradley might evolve.

Colonel McCormick Speaks

A BELATED report from Cairo reveals that Colonel Robert McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune* shocked Cairo newspapermen with his remarks on the state of world affairs during a visit to Egypt.

According to the publisher of the self-styled "world's greatest newspaper," wars are caused by foreign offices, big brass, young men who want to show off and girls who want to be seen in uniforms. Asked about the Atlantic Pact, he answered: "Damn nonsense!"

The Marshall Plan? "A plan of corruption," the colonel retorted.

The United Nations? "Useless."

Out of every American dollar spent in Europe 25 cents went to corrupt officials on both sides of the ocean, McCormick claimed.

It was reported in Cairo that the Chicago publisher's sad, cynical remarks "embarrassed US embassy officials" there.

Britain's Nationalization

A SECRET London meeting of chiefs of the Labor Party considered a proposal that all nationalization—except iron and steel—be dropped from their next general election program.

The conference was said to have fixed provisional timing of the election, which may be this autumn, and the broad lines of the program which will be fought.

The suggestion for a nationalization standstill was deemed certain to produce a clash between right-wing and left-wing elements. Health Minister Aneurin Bevan, left-wing member, has been pressing for more nationalization.

Labor, which during the last parliament passed the law to transfer steel to public ownership, has deferred its operation for the time being. The government must nationalize steel or face violent reactions from a section of its own following.

Nazi Amnesty Wanted

THE Central Committee of the German Unity Party, which holds 17 of the 371 seats in the Bundestag (Lower House), has demanded a political amnesty for all former Nazis in West Germany.

This party, belonging to the government coalition of Dr. Konrad Adenauer, won more than 1,000,000 votes in the general elections last year.

* * *

IN Bonn, the Allied High Commission has noted "a tendency to restrict individual freedom" by German provincial governments in recent laws. The Commission sent a letter to the premiers of the 11 provinces pointing out that the Constitution guarantees the freedom of an individual with the fewest possible checks on his character and ability.

Document

The Economic Situation in the Northeast

Summary of the main portions of a report by Kao Kang, Secretary of the Northeast Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, to the first conference of the Northeast China members of the Communist Party of China, on March 13.

COMRADES! Today I am going to report on the problem of rehabilitating and reconstructing the people's economy in Northeast China.

I

FIRST, I want to stress the importance of Northeast China in the entire national economy. According to approximately accurate figures, Northeast China in 1943 produced 49 percent of the entire country's coal output, about 87 percent of its pig iron, 93 percent of its steel products and 78 percent of its electric power. Manchuria had 42 percent of the total railway tracks of the country. The preponderance of certain branches of heavy industry in Northeast China was overwhelming. This was also true of agriculture. Northeast China produced 51 percent of China's entire output of the world famous soya bean.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung stated last year that modern industry occupied only about 10 percent of the national economy of China. This is the measure of the economic backwardness of China. But the situation is different within Northeast China itself. There, according to approximately accurate figures, industrial production in 1943 constituted about 56 percent of the entire economy of the Northeast.

Just because of this, people throughout the country are closely following the work of reconstruction in Northeast China and hope for assistance from us. Because of this, also, Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Communist Party have frequently bidden us to put out our efforts and to create, in Northeast China, the starting point or the essential base for the industrialization of the country.

* * *

II

WE have made a good beginning. Northeast China was completely liberated in the winter of 1948, and our work of economic reconstruction throughout the area started in 1949. Under last year's rehabilitation plan we invested a value of 2,000,000 tons of grain, and our progress can be judged from the number of factories and mines under the Industrial Department which are now in operation. When we took over, very few factories were in operation. By April, 191 factories had resumed production; by September, 243 and by December, 307.

The gross value of production of these undertakings under the Industrial Department (not including munitions factories) overfulfilled their production plan by 4.2 percent. Among them, important heavy industries like iron, steel, copper, coal, coke, power and machine building all surpassed the original plan. But some light industries, such as cotton yarn, cloth and paper did not reach their objectives. The railway transport plan was fulfilled ahead of schedule. Owing to floods in south Manchuria and drought in north Manchuria, the agricultural harvest was 14,500,000 tons (excluding products of side occupations), that is, 90 percent of the original plan.

Privately owned industry and commerce have also developed owing to the market created by the development of public enterprises and agriculture. In Mukden, from June to December 1949, private industries increased by 23 percent—from 9,727 to 12,007. Workers employed in these industries increased 18 percent—from 42,590 to 50,413.

As a result of our work of rehabilitation, production in the publicly owned industries which resumed work in 1949 reached 29 percent of their output in 1943 under the Japanese occupation. The agricultural output reached about 67 percent of the 1943 level. This is a most noteworthy achievement.

Especially worthy of note is the fact that the rate of revival of our industrial output greatly exceeded the rate of rehabilitation of industrial equipment. For example, while the level of the equipment for steel smelting was only 23 percent, the output reached 42.2 percent of the comparable highest level under the Japanese. In textiles, the number of spindles reached only 66 percent, but the output reached 143 percent of the highest level under the Japanese. This fully demonstrates the superiority of the new democratic publicly owned enterprises and the great prospects that exist for the swift development of our productive forces.

The relative proportions of industry and agriculture in the total economy were: industrial production, which constituted about 56 percent in 1943, was about 35 percent in 1949; agricultural production, which constituted 44 percent in 1943, was about 65 percent in 1949. That is to say that the goal of rehabilitating our industry is still far off. But the line of advance for our industrial rehabilitation is first of all to concentrate on the rehabilitation of the industries producing the means of production. In 1949, the total output of means of production was about 74 percent of the gross value of the total industrial output.

If we proceed on this correct line, supplemented by other favorable conditions, such as completing the purchases of industrial installations according to schedule, then we can lay foundations for reforming the economy of the Northeast.

We can then provide greater quantities of the means of production for industry and agriculture, expand the total economy, speed up the rehabilitation and the development of industry and fundamentally change the present proportions of industry and agriculture in a fairly short period.

Without doubt agricultural production by that time will also be greatly raised because of the development of the social forces of production, because industry will provide agriculture with great quantities of new farm implements, and because the peasants will have new productive enthusiasm.

Our work of rehabilitating and developing our economy has not only enabled us to support the army in its drive to the south, but it has also brought improvements in the living standards of the people.

In 1949, the total number of workers employed by our publicly owned enterprises increased by 240,000. Between May and December of 1949, the average real wages of workers, including administrative workers, has increased by 27 percent.

Labor insurance is being carried out. The state pays an equivalent of between 9 and 11 percent of the total payroll for labor insurance, medical expenses and education for workers.

The exchange ratio between grain and cloth changed from one ton of grain for one bolt and 40 feet of cloth, in the winter of 1948, to one ton of grain for 2.8 bolts at the end of 1949 in north and central Manchuria. Moreover the cloth was of finer quality. Relative price stability has been achieved. During 1948, the general rise in prices was 800 percent. In 1949 the general rise in prices was only 80 percent.

The burden borne by the peasants is less than in the previous year. In 1948, public grain formed 23 percent of the peasants gross output; in 1949 it formed 20 percent.

The state trading concerns and cooperatives provided the consumers with daily necessities amounting to 34 percent of the total volume of retail business. They also bought grain and other local products from the peasants. The increase in the part played in commercial activities by the state trading concerns and the cooperatives hit speculators and price manipulators and ensured the relative market stability and the maintenance of the living standards of the people.

Comrades! The events of the past year have proved that our Party is not only good at leading the people in agrarian reform and the revolutionary war, but is also capable of leading the people in constructing a new country.

Just as we learned to carry out agrarian reform and wage the war, so we are able also to master the new work of economic construction. This fact not only greatly raises the enthusiasm and confidence of the whole Party in their ability to do this work well, but also emphatically convinces those people who can only see the difficulties of the present work that these worries are groundless.

Furthermore, it demonstrates to the domestic and the foreign reactionaries that, in spite of their criminal wishes, we have not only achieved our great victory in the War of Liberation, but will also achieve victory in economic construction.

It is clear that the following main conditions have determined the comparatively swift restoration of our economy:

1) Ours is people's state, led by the working class. The state machinery of imperialism, bureaucracy, warlordism and Kuomintang gangsterism has been thoroughly smashed. Our people's government, including the Northeast People's Government, whole-heartedly serves the people.

2) We have overthrown imperialism and the feudal and semi-feudal agrarian system, bringing real emancipation to the peasants. In the puppet Manchuria, the peasants paid 8,000,000 tons of grain tax annually, while the public grain they delivered in 1949 was 2,300,000 tons. Moreover, land rent has been completely cancelled. Most of the public grain has been invested in industry, becoming the capital for industrial construction.

3) Our people's state has confiscated the various enterprises and properties of imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism, and controls the big industries, railways, banks and large-scale trading machinery which affect the entire economy, and is making them submit to the interests

of the people. On this economic basis, the planning and adjustment of the state economy is being carried out step by step although, at the beginning, these plans cannot be too precise.

4) The great initiative of the working class in production after the liberation has been fully demonstrated by the rise of output. For example, coal output per man shift averaged 0.36 tons in Japanese occupied Manchuria. In 1949 it rose to 0.54 tons.

A survey of some of the factories and mines under our Industrial Department, shows that labor productivity increased by an average 32.83 percent in December, compared with June 1949. Seventeen thousand two hundred and thirty-two new records were marked up in 160 factories and mines, and large numbers of advanced workers have emerged, taking the lead in production and enjoying prestige among the masses. These are a great force, difficult to measure, who will be a most valuable asset in the future.

5) Our Party had more than 20 years' experience in building bases against the Kuomintang and Japanese, and developed a considerable number of cadres. Even though their experience may not be adequate, they have acquired a specific ability to work under the new conditions and therefore play a great part in the work of reconstruction.

6) A decisive condition has been that the correct policies and the detailed instructions of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Party have enabled us to go ahead on a proper course.

7) We have had the help of the Soviet specialists. We believe that the basic conditions mentioned above not only determined our good beginning, but will also certainly determine the great future which lies ahead in the whole task of economic construction.

* * *

III

The Tasks for 1950

STARTING from the good beginning made in 1949, we should continue our work of economic reconstruction along the path that has already been determined.

In the field of public industry, the main products planned for the current year are: pig iron—720,000 tons (last year—172,000 tons); ingot steel—540,000 tons (last year—100,000 tons); rolled steel—340,000 tons (last year—72,000 tons); electrolytic copper—4,000 tons (last year—1,874 tons); electrolytic lead—4,000 tons (last year—2,062 tons); coal—17,000,000 tons (last year—11,000,000 tons); power consumption—2,000,000 KWH (last year—1,400,000 KWH); motors—6,800 (last year—1,109); machine tools—3,300 (last year—497); cement—430,000 tons (last year—218,000 tons); paper—50,000 tons (last year—22,800 tons); cloth—5,700,000 bolts (last year—2,450,000 bolts); yarn—235,000 bales (last year—120,000 bales).

According to this plan, and taking the price of 1943 as unchanged, then, the total value of industrial products of public industry in 1950 is planned to reach to 193 percent of the value of the industrial production in 1949, or about the equivalent of 57 percent of the level of industrial production in 1943 under the Japanese. And, of the total value of industrial production, the value of the means of production will occupy about 79 percent, and that of consumer goods about 21 percent. This is to say that, compared with 1949, we shall have raised the proportion of output of the means of production in the gross industrial output.

At the same time, the production of industrial consumer goods, in the plan, will have been raised by almost two-fifths compared with 1949. Thus, it will be possible for us to supply more consumer goods to the people than in 1949.

In agriculture, according to this year's production plan, 17,200,000 hectares of land will be brought under cultivation, including 234,000 hectares under cotton and 97,000 hectares under hemp and flax.

The total output of grain is planned to reach 18,000,000 tons, which is equivalent to 137 percent of the value of agricultural production in 1949. This is almost 93 percent of the level of agricultural production in 1943 under the puppet regime.

Under the forestry plan 5,928,000 cubic meters of timber will be felled this year (last year—4,600,000 cubic meters). At the same time attention will be given to preserving the existing forests and developing new ones.

It is clear that if our plan for this year can be carried out, the proportions of industry and agriculture in our total economy will undergo a preliminary change.

The total output of industry will constitute 43 percent of the total economy instead of the 35 percent in 1949, and the total output of agriculture will constitute 57 percent of the total economy instead of 65 percent.

Of course this is big progress. But even if we achieve this aim, the proportion of industry in our total economy will still lag behind that of agriculture. Obviously we cannot be satisfied with such a level and we are preparing for new investments during the year.

We will allocate 54 percent of our total expenditure to investment for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of our economy. The investment in industry will be about 40 percent of the total expenditure. Eighty-five percent of the investment in industry will go to those industries producing means of production. The total investment in industry in this year will be 250 percent of last year's investments in industry.

In commerce, we plan to increase the volume of retail business done by the state trading concerns and cooperatives to 50 percent of the total volume of retail business (in 1949 this was 34 percent). This is based on the plan for industrial and agricultural production and the materials the state is able to handle.

To hit at the speculators and to sell goods handled by the state directly to consumers, we are preparing to increase the number of state retail shops from 372 to 1,500. At the same time 9,000 cooperatives will be properly developed.

It is expected that 2,000,000 tons of grain will be purchased after the autumn harvest this year. Purchases of other local products will amount to 17 trillion Northeast dollars. The state trading concerns are still short of considerable quantities of materials needed to satisfy the peasants' purchasing power. So, apart from the expansion of the state-owned light industries in the plan, we must encourage the development of the local publicly and privately owned light industries.

At the same time, orders will be placed with the factories south of the Great Wall. Private merchants will be encouraged and their development channeled along useful lines in order to provide the people with a greater variety of goods.

We plan this year to import goods equivalent to US$160,000,000 and export goods to the same amount—more than double last year's volume—striving to import industrial equipment and necessary raw materials and to expand the export of our surplus materials.

This, in the main, is the plan for our economic reconstruction. Compared with last year's plan it is a step forward. The realization of this year's plan is feasible because it is based on the actual material conditions, but between possibility and reality lies the whole process of serious struggles. We must be prepared both for existing difficulties and those which may arise.

LETTERS

(Continued from Page 37)

exist. Moreover, not only the bright side of society should be depicted in literature, but also the dark and sinful one must be presented in a proper way.

Therefore, in order to be a good author, it is necessary to enlarge one's acquaintance with men of every class. Only in this way can an author avoid wasting numerous pages which are nothing but dreamy stories. His works can then be used as an instrument to teach people how to live.

The most important thing at the present time is world peace. Thus to be a good author, one must above all write works in which the political tendencies of his age are described. Authors must do their best to write some excellent literature which will arouse people to maintain peace.

From this time forth, authors should not indulge in their former habit of writing only to amuse the readers. They should face reality and keep in touch with the poor and the workers. By understanding their lives they can write some immortal works which indeed represent what people demand and hope for at the present time.

RACHEL FU

National Peking Normal University
Peking
June 3, 1950

EVERYONE STUDIES

To the Editor:

All government workers and laborers in state enterprises in Shanghai are now studying the history of social development. This was put into effect by the Shanghai People's Government on May 26, but before that date all of us in our discussion groups and through research were studying this subject.

In order to assist our studies, the Shanghai People's Broadcasting Station has allotted time on Tuesdays and Fridays to broadcast discussions and explanations. The expenses for the broadcasts are furnished from the "Literary and Educational Funds," which amount to about 1.5 percent of the workers' pay.

The first day of our class, all the workers were crowded together in a large auditorium listening to the explanations of the ways and means to study well so that we will learn the most from our discussion groups. Our second lesson was on the subject, "From Monkey to Man" and broadcasts were given of this. There are often lively discussions, especially when we have a very religious person in our group. Next we will study "Labor Builds the World."

This is a completely new experience for those of us from the petty bourgeoisie class for unlike the workers, we have been separated from the labor point of view. Now we are learning from the workers.

WONG SZE-LIANG

Shanghai
June 5, 1950

The Review's English Lesson CXXXV

Mood of Verbs

LAST week, we discussed the most frequently used **tenses** of verbs—that is, the way in which verbs are used and change their form to give the idea of the **time** of the action or state described. This week, we shall take up another way in which verbs are used. The **mood** of a verb indicates the **manner** in which a verb expresses an action, state or condition. The mood of a verb is often shown by its form (spelling), also, and more frequently, by its use in the sentence.

There are three moods, called the **indicative,** the **imperative,** and the **subjunctive.** These names give some idea of the way these moods are used. The indicative mood is used for statements of fact, for statements considered as facts, and for questions. The imperative mood is used for commands. The subjunctive mood, not frequently used, is employed for wishes, for statements contrary to fact, and so on.

Since most sentences deal with the statement of fact or the asking of questions, the indicative mood is chiefly used. However, this mood also has other uses, as follows:

1. Statements of fact: **He came** yesterday. **There are** no books here. **She is** tired.

2. Questions: Where **did you go** after lunch? What time **is** it? **Do you want** to go to the movies?

3. Exclamations: How hot the weather **is!** How tired I **am!** How young she **looks!**

4. Simple condition (that is, a condition that is not contrary to fact. But see below, under the subjunctive mood): If this **is** a good book, I'll read it. If the weather **is** too hot, we won't go. If she **asks** me, I'll tell her.

5. Concession: Though he **doesn't** look it, he is really angry.

6. Command (also see under imperative mood, below): You **will remain** here an hour. He **shall leave** here at once.

The imperative mood is limited to the second person of the present tense, and is used to express the following:

1. Command: **Go** at once. **Do** this immediately. (The subject "you" is not stated—it is "understood.")

2. Request: **Lend** me this book, please. Please **speak** a little louder.

3. Consent: All right, **return** it when you have finished with it.

4. Condition: **Work** harder, and you will accomplish more.

As can be seen from the above examples, there is some overlapping in meaning between the indicative and imperative moods. The following mood, the subjunctive, is the most difficult one to use properly. It is most frequently used in constructions that express a condition contrary to fact; the other uses are much less frequent. The following are often met with:

1. Condition contrary to fact: I would come **if I were** able. (I am not able—perhaps because of illness; therefore, since I am not in fact able, the subjunctive "were" is used.) **If I were** you, I should study more. (I am not you.) **Even if he were** my brother, I wouldn't trust him. (He isn't my brother.)

2. To express a wish: O that **I were** at home! (Stated differently, this would come under the "condition contrary to fact" heading: I wish **I were** at home.)

3. To express concession: when the concession is not a fact, or is supposed, the subjunctive is used, as in: **Do what he may,** I'll never forgive him. (He hasn't done anything yet.) But when the concession is true in fact, the indicative mood is used: Although **he is** my father, I don't resemble him.

4. Following "as if" and "as though:" clauses introduced by these two phrases express some imagined condition or action, and therefore must be followed by the subjunctive: He acted as though **he were** offended. They greeted us as if **we were** not expected.

5. Simple condition: more often the indicative mood is used, as in: If **he doubts** you, show him the agreement; but the subjunctive may also be used, as in: If **he doubt** you, show him the agreement.

From the above, it is seen that the indicative mood is used most generally for states, conditions or actions that are in fact true, while the subjunctive is used for supposed conditions, actions or states. In conjugating a verb in the subjunctive mood, the world "if" is used, and one should notice that the future tense is lacking. Below is a comparison of part of the indicative and subjunctive moods of the verb "to be:"

	Indicative		*Subjunctive*	
Present tense:	I *am*	We *are*	If I *be*	If we *be*
	You *are*	You *are*	If you *be*	If you *be*
	He *is*	They *are*	If he *be*	If they *be*
Past tense:	I *was*	We were	If I *were*	If we were
	You were	You were	If you were	If you were
	He *was*	They were	If he *were*	If they were

The past perfect tenses differ only in the addition of "if" to the subjunctive. Notice that the subjunctive conjugation is the more "regular" of the two; while the present indicative changes the form of the verb (am, are, is) the subjunctive keeps the same form throughout (be). In the past tense, the indicative has two forms (was, were), while the subjunctive has only one (were).

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